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SUBJECT: PANAMA'S CSS REFORM PACKAGE PASSES WITH MINOR CHANGES

SUMMARY

¶1. (SBU) On May 31, nine minutes before midnight, Panama's National Assembly passed President Martin Torrijos's Social Security (CSS) reform package with a vote of 43-30. All 43 Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) legislators voted in favor, while the opposition presented a united front against the reforms. The National Assembly debated the 180 article package, first submitted to committee on May 18, in two marathon rounds over the last week, during which 142 minor modifications were adopted. Multiple demonstrations continued today. Labor groups today mounted a last-ditch effort to push Torrijos not to formally approve the package, which he did just before noon. Business organizations continue to express concern that the reforms do not present a lasting solution to the sustainability of CSS, while labor groups argue that changes such as an increase in retirement age place too heavy a burden on workers. The PRD, which has an absolute majority in the Assembly, came under fire from the opposition for pushing this package through the Assembly with only a brief consultation period. (Note: The previous administration, under President Mireya Moscoso of the Panamenista Party, did nothing to address CSS reform. End Note.) With fiscal reforms and CSS reforms out of the way, the next major item on the Torrijos administration's agenda is the referendum on Canal expansion, set for late 2005 or early 2006. End Summary.

The Package

¶2. (U) The reform proposal has no big surprises for the Panamanian work force, but it also redistributes more funds to retirement, illness and maternity programs; modernizes the procurement system; makes contributions mandatory; and revises disability pension eligibility and the system for electing the board of directors. The package includes an increase in retirement age from 57 to 60 for women and from 62 to 65 for men; an increase in mandatory enrollment from 15 to 20 years; greater state contributions in general and special funds for &workers at risk⁸ (construction, banana, and coffee workers); an increase in monthly payments for both employers and employees; mandatory enrollment of all workers; and improved asset management. Privatization is not contemplated. The reforms would be introduced gradually over the next ten years.

¶3. (U) Although the actuarial studies have not been released, CSS Director Rene Luciani estimates the system is financially viable until 2035. (Note: According to press reports, some private actuaries claim the system will face another financial crisis in 2015 and be bankrupt by 2028. The current system would have gone bankrupt in seven years. End Note.)

¶4. (U) Torrijos was willing to make minor concessions for those close to retirement. He accepted a "proportional" distribution of pensions to those who have already met the current 180 month quota, but for reasons of age, will retire after the new laws take effect but before they have met the 240 month quota. By 2015 the retirement quota will be set at 300 months. Torrijos also dropped the proposed retirement age for women from 62 to 60.

The Critics

¶5. (SBU) To counter allegations by labor unions that the package is insupportable for the added burdens it places on laborers, the GOP has released item-by-item explanations of how elements in the package take into account the concerns of labor in major news papers. Business organizations such as the Association of Business Executives (APEDE) and CSS board members have expressed concern over the lack of statistical projections presented by the GOP, that the reforms are nothing more than a temporary resolution, and that provisions such as the removal of a mandate to submit a yearly report to the CSS board would give too much autonomy to the CSS Director General. National Council of Private Business (CoNEP) president Guillermo Villarreal announced that CoNEP,

an umbrella business organization, would not support the reforms, and SUNTRACS, teachers, and CSS medical professionals have actively demonstrated against the package.

The Federation in Defense of Social Security united labor groups normally at odds with one another in their common rejection of the reforms.

15. (SBU) COMMENT: Ultimately, the effect of the fast-action reform package has been to not only demonstrate the PRD's resolve and outward unity, but to briefly unify disparate opposition political parties, labor organizations, and the business community. Union opposition to the reforms was inflexible, and would have been demonstrated regardless of the proposed reforms. The two Popular Party legislators who were on board with the PRD reform package at the outset of the debates also voted against the package in the final round. However, despite the Torrijos administration's somewhat heavy-handedness in pushing the reforms through the Assembly, Torrijos deserves major credit for tackling a politically unpopular task. In addition, Panama's National Police, who invested huge amounts of time and effort into preparation for demonstrations, deserve praise for maintaining law and order. End Comment.

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